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614 are still distinguished by using the surname
565 Wakang, whereas the noble and commoner members
551 of this soa use the surname Ohorella. Thus
423 there are two parts to the soa Wakang as it were, a slave and a noble-commoner part, the former using the name Wakang and the latter using the name Ohorella.

614 The Wakang have no dati at all. Thus in the
423 soa Wakang there are people with no dati. As he
565 put it, there are two fam in the Wakang soa,
597 Ohorella and Wakang, but only the former is also
567 associated with a dati, which means that it owns land. Still, a Wakang may become a dati member via ambil anak. That is, this may take place by tulung dati. The only slave descendants here are those with the name Wakang, because the other soa had no slaves. The Ohorella may be either nobles or commoners. The only real nobles, i.e., bangsawan radja, are Ohorella.

621 The significance of the name rumah tau,
614 which he kept using instead of soa, is that it
551 means "people of the house." Thus rumah tau
174 Wakang means "people of the house Wakang." And this goes back to the original days when the negri was new and each soa lived in a separate section. In the beginning each soa lived in a single house. Thus an original map of Tulehu would show twelve houses, each with a separate name, which are preserved today in the names of the present twelve soa.

[171] This would seem to be how the stam-houses of the ancestor cult, for example, in Sumba, came to be; they are, or represent, the original house of the stam ancestors.

769 Once a year each soa, or rather all soa, have
614 a feast called aroha. At this time members gather
796 and do the fowl-killing referred to before. They
782 whisper messages to the soa ancestors via the
825 fowls before cutting off their heads (the bird-messenger theme).

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000 messenger theme).

423 614 It is evident that the dati business has to do with land. Thus the soa is a genealogical unit, once localized, with an ancestor-cult bond, but now it is not localized. The dati is a landowning unit, which, here in Tulehu, happens to coincide in nearly every case with the soa. The fam is mostly the same as the soa and dati, but the Wakang soa has two dati and fam; while there are fam from the outside which are not soa or dati affiliated.

423 614 623 ● 174 616 Each dati has one kepala and therefore there should be twelve kepala dati. There are only four kepala soa, and thus eight soa have no kepala. The four kepala soa are also the kepala of their respective dati. They are also members of the saniri. Two of the elected kepala dati are also members of the saniri. The four kepala soa are of the following soa: Wakang, Lating, Moni, and Lain. They are also, respectively, the kepala dati of Ohorella, Lestuluhu, Kottahatuhaha, and Tuasalamoni. This looks like a kind of moiety here too, as there are two negri lama, Eruwakang and Amantawari. The notable fact is that only the soa Wakang comes from the former, while all the other soa are from the latter. This looks as though Wakang was simply a conquering group that came in and set up its own organization over the others, who had come down before from Amantawari.

624 614 174 565 182 Another interesting part has to do with the offices and their relation to the soa. The radja, of course, must be Ohorella. The tuan tanah, however, must be from Umarella and this is recognized to be the soa which settled the negri originally. This soa came first from Amantawari. Its name, Umarella, means big land. My guess is that the tuan tanah was originally the chief of

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624 the negri, until the Eruwakang people came down.
614 Then the latter took over the radja's post,
● 174 dropped him to second place, although he still
565 remains a master of adat and was technically
182 the chief in land matters. The latter, however, is an empty assumption. As far as I can see, everywhere in Ambon the tuan tanah comes from the soa which settled the negri first. I would like to talk with the tuan tanah of Tulehu and may get the opportunity to do so yet.

[701] The kapitan, now a defunct position, came from the Lain soa. Thus we see administration, adat-religion, and war as three different functions divided between three different soa. He evidently mixes dati and soa indiscriminately because he said that the radja and the tuan tanah are from Ohorella and Umarella, which are dati names, but then he said that the kapitan was from Lain, which is a soa term for the dati Tuasalamoni.

[793] The imeum should be from Ohorella, but since 1937 there has been no member of this fam or dati which has been well enough up on Islam to take over this responsibility. Since that time there has been a deputy imeum. That will be so until some member of the Ohorella comes along who is learned enough to become a real imeum.

I then reverted to the remark of the Radja to the effect that the tuan tanah is bangsawan tinggi, as is the Radja. He agreed, with just a little hesitancy. He evidently thinks of the tuan tanah as just a bit lower, anyway. In any case his group is simply not bangsawan radja.

[582] I asked if marriage could occur between radja and tuan tanah families. He said that this could take place but would probably result in some trouble. He said that bangsawan radja individuals always in-marry. Then I asked if perhaps there

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Then I asked if perhaps there
624 were the idea that there are two sections of
614 rules here. Thus there would be the purely ad-
565 ministrative or worldly side running from the
182 radja down through the kepala soa to the soa,
793 and there would be the land-and-adat or more or
174 less mixed with the old religion side, running
from the tuan tanah down through the kepala dati
and the kewang to the dati and the dusun of the
dati. I am a little doubtful about the kewang,
who seems to be a kind of radja's side man who
has usurped the land-administration rights of
the tuan tanah. Anyway, he thought that this was
not so bad an idea. He insisted, however, that
the tuan tanah is more on the religious side than
on the land side. If one wanted to pursue this
further it might be possible to divide more
finely and state the situation something like
this:

Administration: radja--kepala soa--soa.

Land administration: radja--kepala dati--
kewang--dati.

Religion (old): tuan tanah--mauwen (defunct),
indirectly tying in with the soa.

War (defunct): kapitan--malessi, indirectly
tying in with the soa.

Religion (modern: imeum--hatib--modin.

T & A

526 The Radja said that they used to have boat
624 races, for example on the Queen's birthday. At
769 that time the tuan tanah would pronounce the
782 charms in the baileo. After it was over he would
go to the negri lama. I remember that in Amahusu
when they have races they go first to the negri
lama to ask the ancestors for luck.

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624 When there is a big feast, for example, in the
576 radja's house, the radja sits in the center in a
554 decorated place. To his right are the kepala soa,

614 T Most families and fam are very large. They
423 are especially bound by dati ties (that is,
769 economic bonds) and also to a lessening degree
602 by the moyang cult (religion--adat). The
574 biggest event of the latter is the Lating fam
527 feast to which hundreds of Lestaluhu (Lating) members come from all over. They come here because the graves of the great men of Lating of long ago are here deposited. They gather here, feast, and call the ancestors. This last business is done by the tuan tanah, even though he is not a member of Lating. He does this with a conch shell horn. This feast is held irregularly. Only Lating has such a big feast, because only Lating has the graves of the ancestors here.

It is notable that the present Radja of Wakang attends the Lating feast, and helps to carry a Lating woman who is dressed like a radja. I remember the Radja saying that at the great Lating feast he is like their servant. Also, members of Wakang attend the Lating feast. All of them act like servants.

174 My guess is like this, and here we have ritual
614 reliving history: originally Tulehu was populated
582 by people from Amantawari. The radja fam from there was Lating. The tuan tanah fam, as is still the case, was Umarella. Thus it was until Wakang appeared. Wakang, perhaps, came from Eruwakang. They warred against the people of Tulehu and won the radja post, deposing the Lating. If one could date the graves of the Lating radjas one would have the date of the Wakang irruption. The tuan tanah has remained unchanged, as Umarella were the first settlers, but Wakang, though deposing Lating, married with women of Lating, and also their women married men of Lating, but the latter was less necessary. That haunting statement of the Radja: men of Wakang marry women of Lating, but the reverse is not

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174 necessary. This may be the way the Batak system
614 grew up too. And it reminds me of the Hindus
582 coming into Borneo, etc., and marrying the
daughters of the old Indonesian chiefs and
[562] building states. And note the symbolism: it
is a woman of Lating who dresses as a radja.
And then I have some notes on the unclear state-
ment of the Radja in regard to how Lating women
would come dressed as men in order to protect
him if he got into trouble.

527 As for the aroha or arwha feast, this is also
769 a fam affair, but only by members of the fam
614 who are in the kampong. That is, members who are
198 scattered elsewhere do not come as they do to the
Lating feast. Every fam used to do it once a
year. This custom is declining fast. Thus Mo-
hammedanism and Christianity kill the old prac-
tices, but the latter does it faster. At the
aroha, the ancestors are called by a member
using a conch shell. Usually the kepala dati
does it.

614 In regard to the ranking of fam here, the
565 Wakang know they are slaves, but no one says it.
Ohorella folk are proud that they are of the
radja fam. Lating is also proud. They are
really old nobility and were radjas before Wakang.
Also they are the largest group and feel strong.
The Umarella, fam of the tuan tanah, have no
special pride. The tuan tanah is really not a
person of much rank. All other fam feel equal
and ordinary.

562 The status of women has not changed much here.
[178] They may be a bit less retiring now than they
were formerly. There is only one girl from Tulehu
who has become a teacher. Girls from here do not
enter office positions. However, unlike the
Buginese, the women mix in at feasts. The staying
[565] in the rear of the house and keeping silent is
seen especially among upper women (such as the
Radja's wife).

[See cat. 116, p. 94 --Analyst]